

#9-70

TRENDS IN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA
CONF

1 OF 1

4 MARCH 1970

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TRENDS

in Communist Propaganda

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4 March 1970
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C O N T E N T S

NOTE: Communist comment on the President's foreign policy report through 26 February is reviewed in an FBIS Special Memorandum of that date, "Foreign Radio and Press Reaction to President Nixon's Report on U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's." The Sino-U.S. Relations section of this TRENDS updates the Special Memorandum with a discussion of belated reaction from Peking.

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TOPICS AND EVENTS GIVEN MAJOR ATTENTION 23 FEBRUARY - 1 MARCH 1970

Moscow (3884 items)

Middle East	(14%)	15%
[Soviet Citizens' Protests	(1%)	4%]
[Zionism	(0.1%)	2%]
Soviet Armed Forces Anniversary	(6%)	7%
Criticism of China	(8%)	7%
TASS Statement on Laos	(--)	5%
Vietnam	(3%)	3%
Moscow Leninism Conference	(--)	3%
Gromyko in GDR	(--)	3%

Peking (2726 items)

Domestic Issues	(47%)	47%
Soviet Domination of Czechoslovakia	(0.4%)	9%
U.S.-Japanese "Two Chinas" Scheme	(--)	7%
Kuo Mo-jo in Nepal for Wedding	(--)	3%
Plain of Jars Victories	(0.5%)	2%

These statistics are based on the voicecast commentary output of the Moscow and Peking domestic and international radio services. The term "commentary" is used to denote the lengthy item—radio talk, speech, press article or editorial, government or party statement, or diplomatic note. Items of extensive reportage are counted as commentaries.

Figures in parentheses indicate volume of comment during the preceding week.

Topics and events given major attention in terms of volume are not always discussed in the body of the Trends. Some may have been covered in prior issues; in other cases the propaganda content may be routine or of minor significance.

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VIETNAM WEEKLY REVIEW

HIGHLIGHTS

PARIS TALKS: At the 56th session of the Paris talks PRG delegate Dinh Ba Thi, substituting for Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, echoed Mme. Binh's attack last week on alleged U.S. chemical warfare in South Vietnam. DRV delegate Nguyen Minh Vy focused on President Nixon's 18 February foreign policy message, expanding on earlier critical comment in Hanoi media. Unlike last week's VNA report on the session, the account this week fails to mention that Ambassador Habib did not present a formal statement.

LE DUC THO ACTIVITIES: DRV media have not reported the activities of Le Duc Tho, who is still in Paris several weeks after he led the North Vietnamese delegation to the French CP congress, held 4-8 February. Thus there is no mention of the meeting in Paris between Cyrus Eaton, Le Duc Tho, and Xuan Thuy on 26 February at which, according to Western press sources, issues related to the talks and to a political settlement were discussed. DRV reports of Le Duc Tho's return to Paris for the congress had not mentioned his position as special adviser to the DRV delegation at the Paris talks.

NGUYEN DUY TRINH INTERVIEW: On 2 March VNA releases the text of a 26 February Nguyen Duy Trinh interview, granted to a visiting AP representative, in which the DRV foreign minister repeats the standard charge that the United States has "no interest" in negotiations and the stock position that the "correct" path for settlement lies in the NFLSV 10-point solution. Asked about the DRV's view of a cease-fire in South Vietnam, Trinh replies with the vague formulation in the 10-point statement that based on the principles of the 10 points, "the parties shall reach understanding to the effect of concluding agreements on the relevant questions with a view to bringing the war in South Vietnam to an end and contributing to the restoration of peace in Vietnam."

MOSCOW PROPAGANDA: Commentators continue to criticize the U.S. Vietnamization plan in the usual terms. In foreign-language commentaries on 28 February and 1 March, for example, Aleksey Leontyev says there have been no basic changes in American policy in Vietnam. While some army units are being pulled out, he says, others are arriving to replace them, and since last December the total number of troops has decreased by only 500 men. He charges that the Pentagon intends to retain 200,000 to 250,000 troops in Vietnam "for many years to come" and that the U.S. "aggression" is being escalated.

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SOUTH VIETNAM: Communist news reports routinely reflect scattered military action in South Vietnam. The allied pacification program continues to be discussed, with Hanoi radio on 2 March broadcasting the first of a series of articles in the DRV army paper QUAN DOI NHAN DAN which outlines methods to defeat pacification, stressing attacks on support forces and the Phoenix program.

The trial and arrest of South Vietnamese legislator Tran Ngoc Chau is noted by Hanoi and Front media. A 2 March Liberation Radio commentary charges routinely that attempts by the GVN to terrorize its opponents only reveal its basic weakness.

NORTH VIETNAM: Le Duan's views on domestic issues are publicized in Hanoi propaganda, including NHAN DAN editorials on 26 and 27 February--discussing light industry and handicrafts--which quote from his lengthy 14 February article. Propaganda in early February similarly gave prominent attention to his 1 February party anniversary speech.

On 1 March Hanoi's domestic service carries a NHAN DAN summary, published in the paper the same day, of a talk delivered by Pham Van Dong at a college students' congress in January. Dong acknowledges problems relating to the students' attitudes and to the material conditions of the universities. He urges students to help improve conditions and to study to be both "red" and "expert."

INDOCHINESE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE ANNIVERSARY: Hanoi marks the 1 March anniversary of the 1965 Indochinese People's Conference with a meeting, messages to Sihanouk and Souphanouvong from Ton Duc Thang as head of the Fatherland Front, and radio and press comment including a NHAN DAN editorial. Inexplicably, Front media have not publicized the usual South Vietnamese message from Nguyen Huu Tho or a meeting on the occasion. But Front comment routinely hails the conference and pledges solidarity with the people of Cambodia and Laos.

PARIS TALKS: 26 FEBRUARY SESSION

CHEMICAL WARFARE Substituting for Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh at the 26 February session of the Paris talks, PRG delegate Dinh Ba Thi took up where Mme. Binh left off at the previous session and again focused on the "abominable crimes" of the United States against South Vietnam, particularly the alleged use of chemical warfare.* Dinh Ba Thi

* Alleged allied use of chemicals in South Vietnam is also decried in an article by Pham Van Bach, chairman of the DRV War Crimes Commission, broadcast by Hanoi radio on 26 February. The article deprecates President Nixon's 25 November statement renouncing germ warfare and restricting chemical weapons, but it does not mention the 14 February White House announcement extending the restrictions. It ridicules the idea that Congress will approve the 1925 Geneva agreement on gas and germ warfare.

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has in the past substituted for Mme. Binh during her several absences from the meetings. Most recently, he led the PRG delegation at the 15 January 1970 session and at the two previous sessions.

In developing last week's charges, Thi repeated the allegation that the United States has been waging chemical warfare in the South since 1961 and is doing so now under the Nixon Administration "on an ever larger scale." He declared in his statement, which Liberation Radio carries in full on the 27th, that "it is precisely because of its desire to settle the South Vietnam problem correctly that our delegation resolutely exposes the U.S. chemical warfare, as well as the whole U.S. policy of war of extermination, and demands that the U.S. Government stop these crimes at once and put an end immediately to its aggressive war."

The PRG representative also restated the standard proposal that if the U.S. side announces a total allied troop withdrawal from South Vietnam within a six-month period, the parties would then discuss the timetable for the withdrawal as well as the security measures guaranteeing the safety of the withdrawing forces.

NIXON REPORT ON FOREIGN POLICY Acting DRV delegation head Nguyen Minh Vy devoted his statement to criticism of President Nixon's 18 February foreign policy report along the lines of earlier DRV comment. VNA notes Vy's charge that the report demonstrated that U.S. Vietnam policy remains one of prolonging the war, extending the U.S. "occupation," and attempting to achieve "neocolonialism." VNA also reports the three general conclusions Vy drew from the report: 1) that the Administration is dragging out the war and hopes to achieve a position of strength through the Vietnamization program, 2) that the United States makes only "deceptive and slanderous contentions" concerning issues involved in a settlement and is avoiding the pressing demand of world public opinion in not withdrawing troops immediately, totally, and unconditionally, and 3) that the Administration continues to downgrade the talks with a view to undermining the conference. Taking note of Vy's remarks on Laos, VNA repeats his charge that "another undeniable evidence" of American "schemes" in Southeast Asia is the "fact" of U.S. escalation in Laos.

ALLIED SPEECHES The VNA account of the allied delegates' remarks is standard. It says they again "tried to evade the fundamental problems and insolently put the blame" on the DRV-PRG side for the deadlock at Paris. Ambassador Lam is routinely portrayed as trying "by all means to ward off the condemnation" by the communist side and by world public opinion of the Saigon "clique's crime of high treason and its crime of serving as a tool" for the United States. VNA adds that Lam rehashed old contentions concerning the removal of all non-South Vietnamese forces, free elections, "etc."

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The VNA account, unlike last week's, does not acknowledge that U.S. Ambassador Habib did not present a formal statement. It brushes off his remarks in the notation that he "again brought up the prisoners-of-war problem which had been rejected many times" by the DRV-PRG delegates.

U.S. POW ISSUE DRV media have not carried any report like the 2 March TASS item, datelined Hanoi, in which a TASS correspondent quotes Le Quang Gui, chief of the Post and Telegraph Department of the DRV, as saying that 320 captured American airmen have carried on correspondence with their families. According to TASS, this statement was responsive to unspecified remarks by U.S. Paris delegation spokesman Steve Ledogar in his 26 February briefing. The remark the postal director appeared to be rebutting was Ledogar's statement that only 175 families have received communications from 368 Americans positively identified to be under North Vietnamese detention. DRV media, following established custom, have not reported any of the U.S. spokesman's remarks.

ALLIED PACIFICATION, PHOENIX PROGRAMS

The first in an undated series of QUAN DOI NHAN DAN articles on pacification, broadcast by Hanoi on 2 March, describes the people's struggle against pacification as "a comprehensive, fierce, long-term, and persistent one to gradually and completely defeat" it.

The article outlines important tasks for thwarting pacification, including the annihilation of pacification and support forces and development of political and military proselyting offensives. Detailing the military aspects of the struggle against pacification, the article says the communists must accurately hit support forces' command headquarters and bivouacs and strike at the support forces as soon as they arrive in "liberated areas," before they can "commit crimes."

The article claims that the people have "foiled pacification at its roots," destroying support forces, wiping out the Phoenix intelligence organization, and punishing the "cruel police and psywar agents." It says the Phoenix program is used for collecting intelligence and identifying revolutionary cadres in order to assassinate or kidnap them. The Phoenix agents are termed the main forces in controlling and suppressing the people. When these agents are annihilated, the article says, the support forces are deprived of "eyes and ears."

Moving on to the pacification teams, the article explains that they are responsible for directly building local GVN administrations and political organizations. To destroy pacification teams, the paper says, the people have attacked them in their training camps and command posts.

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On 1 March the Front radio claims that in 1969 the PLAF security force "punished" thousands of spies and local GVN authorities and caused the "disintegration" of more than 23,300 civil defense and other agents. The communists are said to have "initially" smashed the Phoenix plan, thus contributing to the defeat of pacification and Vietnamization.

A Hanoi broadcast on 25 February takes note of reports that the CIA actively conducted Phoenix operations and attributes to the New York TIMES the report that 19,500 people were "liquidated" in 1969 in Phoenix operations.

GVN TRIAL OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE LEGISLATORS

The recent arrest and trial of South Vietnamese legislator Tran Ngoc Chau on charges of collusion with the enemy brings predictable comment from the communists branding the GVN "fascist and dictatorial." A 2 March Liberation Radio commentary declares that the convictions of Chau and fellow legislator Hoang Ho "openly trample on the Saigon National Assembly." This event, the radio says, shows that the GVN is so weak that it must resort to terrorizing its opponents. Liberation Radio maintains that Thieu is opposed not only by the people but also by assemblymen, ARVN members, and GVN administrators. It adds that anyone could be the next victim of terrorization by Thieu, who is being directed in this "comedy" by President Nixon. Another Front radio commentary on 2 March, noting that the second trial of Chau was held that day, describes his treatment as an "internal purge."

Hanoi, in a broadcast on 2 March, recounts the Assembly's protests over Chau's arrest and reports the manhandling of journalists at the time of the arrest. This broadcast also cites Senator Fulbright's statement criticizing the U.S. Embassy for siding with the GVN and his comment that Chau's arrest and trial had "political motives." A short Hanoi broadcast on the 3d, citing Western sources, describes Chau's first trial as conducted "in a great hurry, lasting only one-half hour," and reports that Chau was sentenced to absentia to 20 years at hard labor and Hoang Ho to death. A QUAN DOI NHAN DAN commentary on the trials, noted in the Hanoi radio press review on 4 March, is not yet available.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Sparse military reports reflect the small scale of current action in the South. LPA on 28 February reviewed action in the Mekong Delta during January, claiming that nearly 5,600 allied troops were killed, wounded, or captured.

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On the 27th Liberation Radio reports that the fourth emulation congress of the western Nam Bo PLAF, held on 18 December 1969, reviewed area military achievements during the past two years. The congress report alleged that the allied "scheme" to encroach on the U Minh area as well as allied pacification and Vietnamization plans in the delta "have been gradually defeated." The report also discussed the development of guerrilla warfare during the previous two years, according to the broadcast.

The An Giang NFLSV committee and people's revolutionary committee "recently" issued an appeal to the people of the province to fight and annihilate the allies and expose their "crimes." Broadcast by the Front radio on the 22d, the appeal reviews crimes allegedly committed by the allies in the area and also recalls Ba Lang An and Son My. It declares that the people will not be happy until the GVN is overthrown and a government established that will concern itself with the people and negotiate with the PRG.

REVOLUTIONARY ADMINISTRATION A 26 February GIAI PHONG editorial broadcast by Liberation Radio on 2 March urges the people to develop the revolutionary administration--a subject discussed infrequently in the propaganda since the formation of the PRG in June 1969. The editorial says it is necessary to develop the revolutionary administration at basic levels and particularly stresses the need to strengthen all forms of relations with the masses. According to the editorial, the primary tasks of revolutionary administration include developing guerrilla warfare, opposing pacification, and protecting and encouraging production.

DEATH OF CAO DAI PRG OFFICIAL On 17 February Liberation Radio reported the funeral of Major Huynh Thanh Mung, a Cao Dai communist spokesman, who died on the 3d. He was a PRG advisory committee member, vice-chairman of the Cao Dai Committee for Consolidation of Peaceful Coexistence, and commander of the National All-Force army. Mung reportedly died following a period of serious illness. VNA on 22 February reported the funeral services for Mung and on the 24th noted that a memorial service was held for him in Hanoi.

PHAM VAN DONG SPEECH TO DRV COLLEGE STUDENTS

Pham Van Dong's speech to a January congress of the DRV College Students Union, summarized by NHAN DAN and broadcast by Hanoi radio on 1 March, calls upon the students to become both "red" and "expert." Stressing the importance of learning good study methods, Dong warns the students not to "run after a degree" but rather to seek deep understanding and relate their studies to the country's present undertakings. Declaring that the country needs "capable, energetic persons who dare to think," Dong adds that the DRV does not need people who can only remember enough to pass an examination and obtain a degree in order to become cadres like the mandarins of the past.

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Recognizing North Vietnamese weaknesses in the realm of science and technology, Dong criticizes "some among the comrades who have revered the U.S. imperialists' science and technology." He maintains that "science and technology are not difficult" and that others can do what the United States has done.

The impact of the war is acknowledged by Dong, who notes shortages of materials, warns against the erosion of good habits during "years of evacuation," and calls on the students to be aware of the sacrifices made by others. At one point he tells the students that "in the past few years, the party and state have tried to create conditions for you to continue your studies while hundreds of thousands of youths of our country have gone into battle, many of whom have . . . laid down their lives." Dong notes that in the congress discussions "many comrades referred to the South" and adds that it is "thanks to the South Vietnamese people's fighting and valiant sacrifices" that the North "can have universities with students who can sit and study in a peaceful environment."

Pham Van Dong says the state and party are concerned about training the youth, but "we have not acquired conditions to equip even our universities." He urges the students to help themselves through strengthened "collectives" and to contribute to building schools while continuing their studies. On the question of student participation in production, he states that the schools must participate in such a way as to enhance academic activity, and "we are pondering over, assessing, and discussing this question" with school officials.

DRV PEOPLE'S ARMED SECURITY FORCES ANNIVERSARY

Hanoi radio on 3 March reports an article by Major General Pham Kiet on the occasion of the People's Armed Security Forces' 11th anniversary, celebrated that day. The article appeared, according to the broadcast, in the 3 March issues of both NHAN DAN and QUAN DOI NHAN DAN. Typical of propaganda since Ho's death which has extolled Ho's contributions in various areas, the article cites Ho's solicitude for the security forces and pledges the group's allegiance to his teachings. It recalls Ho's warning that "the anti-U.S. resistance may drag on," and it asserts that the present situation is "unfolding in accordance with his words."

Kiet cautions that although the United States is "losing," it will "intensify its war of espionage through forms and maneuvers that are even more shrewd and cunning." And he warns that "the reactionary clique at home is also looking for every gap among us in order to sow division and to engage in opposition and sabotage." Concluding that "new difficulties will appear on the front of maintaining order and

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security," he urges security members to strengthen their working class stand, pledge their loyalty to the party, and heighten their revolutionary vigilance, and he calls for strengthening the party organization in the security forces. Kiet stresses that since the security forces are limited, their main strength must lie in relations with the people.

Pham Kiet also wrote articles on the occasion of the security forces' anniversary in 1967 and 1969.

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LAOS

COMMUNISTS HAIL PLAIN OF JARS VICTORY, SCORE U.S. "AGGRESSION"

In authoritative as well as routine propaganda, communist media applaud the military successes of the Laotian "patriots" in the Plain of Jars and assail continued U.S. "aggression." The NLHX issues another Central Committee statement, and the DRV supports an earlier NLHX statement with a foreign ministry statement. Moscow comments authoritatively in a TASS statement, the first in connection with Laos since December 1967. The NLHX statement takes brief note of Souvanna Phouma's 26 February announcement that he will call for a new Geneva conference; Peking reports this passage, but Hanoi and Moscow are not known to have mentioned Souvanna's remarks.

PATHET LAO
PROPAGANDA

An NLHX Central Committee statement dated 28 February, carried by the Pathet Lao news agency on 2 March, charges the Nixon Administration with "intensified and expanded" aggression. It describes the military operations launched last August in the Plain of Jars as "the largest and most reckless and cruel nibbling attack ever undertaken by the United States since it started its aggressive war in Laos 15 years ago," and it adds that the use of B-52's for the first time in this area is an "extremely serious act of escalation."

The successes of the "patriots" in the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khouang area nevertheless mark "a new step in the growth of the Laotian Patriotic Armed Forces and people" and represent a victory in "defense of the liberated zone and the fatherland," the statement declares. It asserts the Laotian people's "right to self-defense" and their determination to "punish [the enemy] everywhere and not let them nibble an inch of the free zone." It concludes by calling upon the people to unite around the "militant alliance" of the NLHX and the Patriotic Neutralist Forces in order to "successfully defend the free zone and their fundamental national rights."

The same stress on "defense" recurs in other propaganda. A "letter" from the NLHX Central Committee dated 24 February, broadcast by Pathet Lao radio on the 27th, reiterates that the Plain of Jars, Xieng Khouang, and Muong Soui "lie deep in what has been the patriotic forces' free zone since 1961." It calls upon the armed forces and people to be vigilant against U.S. schemes to retake the area and to "particularly maintain their fighting spirit and self-defense right to defend our sacred Plain of Jars and Xieng Khouang to the end." It urges the "people of all strata and nationalities" in the "areas temporarily controlled by the United States and its lackeys" to "compel the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to halt their war."

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Souphanouvong, addressing an NLHX rally hailing the victory, called upon the armed forces and people to strengthen their vigilance and smash new enemy military adventures "while stepping up the building up of the liberated zone," according to the Pathet Lao news agency on 3 March. A review of the battles in the Plain of Jars by the news agency on 26 February concludes that the armed forces and people are determined to fight still harder "to defend the liberated zone and the life and property of the entire people of Laos."

Souvanna Phouma's 26 February announcement that he will call for a reconvening of the Geneva conference is acknowledged briefly in the 28 February NLHX Central Committee statement. It scores the United States and its allies for "slandering" the NLHX and the DRV--though it does not explicitly mention charges of the DRV troop presence--and for continuing "peace hoaxes." It notes that they "clamored for the holding of the Geneva conference" while B-52 bombings continued.

In a 4 March commentary the Pathet Lao news agency denounces Souvanna Phouma for "worn-out slanders against the NLHX and the DRV" in an attempt to belittle the "patriots'" recent victories and alleges that he "sent a letter to the cochairmen of the Geneva conference and begged for consultations among the signatories of the 1962 agreement to halt violations of Laos' neutrality." Expressing approval of the "correct attitude" of people in the United States like Senators Fulbright and Mansfield, who have expressed concern over U.S. involvement in Laos, the commentary reasserts the Laotian people's "legitimate right of self-defense" against aggression.

Concern within the United States over the war in Laos is also noted in a 27 February Pathet Lao news agency report of statements by Senators Fulbright and Symington which also notes briefly that to "counter" these statements, Secretary Laird on 22 February "defended" the U.S. policy of war expansion in Laos but "did not reply directly" to questions on the use of B-52's. Phoumi Vongvichit, the NLHX Secretary General, sent an "urgent message" to the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and the New Mobilization Committee in the United States, according to the Pathet Lao news agency on 26 February, calling upon them to demand cessation of the war in Laos.

HANOI A DRV Foreign Ministry statement, carried by VNA on the 26th, declares that the DRV Government, "as a signatory to the 1962 Geneva agreement on Laos," supports the 20 February NLHX Central Committee statement and condemns the Nixon Administration for using B-52's against the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khouang area and for "stepping up" the war in Laos. Saying that the bombings are of "exterminating character and on an unprecedented scale," the statement cites Senator Mansfield as declaring on the 21st that the use of B-52's represents an

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escalation of the war. The statement expresses support for the "legitimate self-defense right" of the Laotian "patriots." In his 26 February AP interview, carried by VNA on 2 March, DRV Foreign Minister Trinh charges that the Nixon Administration has made the situation in Laos "even more tense" by launching B-52 raids on the Plain of Jars and other areas of Laos.

In the press briefing following the 26 February Paris session, as reported in a VNA service message from Paris to Hanoi, the DRV spokesman denounced the escalation in Laos at some length and argued that the Nixon Administration thus "has further increased its threat to the DRV's security." Hanoi media do not disseminate accounts of the press briefings, but a similar explicit reference to a threat to DRV security appears in a 28 February QUAN DOI NHAN DAN commentary praising Pathet Lao victories. The DRV army paper alleges that the United States planned to occupy the Plain of Jars indefinitely and to use it as a "springboard" for deeper attacks against liberated areas in Laos, to "threaten the DRV's security," and to prolong the war in South Vietnam.

Hanoi takes Secretary Laird to task for his remarks defending U.S. policy in Laos. At the 26 February Paris session, DRV representative Nguyen Minh Vy discussed Laos at some length, saying that Laird himself on 22 February "admitted" U.S. "participation" in the war in Laos when he said U.S. "involvement" was tied in with the safety and security of American forces in Vietnam. Vy added that this "confirms" U.S. designs to drag out the war in South Vietnam and expand it to other parts of Indochina.

QUAN DOI NHAN DAN cites Laird as saying on the 22d that "U.S. bombing in Laos" is "only aimed at cutting off the route to South Vietnam." The Hanoi paper neglects to mention that the "route" is the Ho Chi Minh trail. It adds that Laird's remark serves only to expose the United States as an aggressor because the Plain of Jars, where the air attacks are "concentrated," is in northern Laos and far from South Vietnam. A Hanoi domestic broadcast on the 25th says various U.S. senators' remarks on B-52 raids and escalation have "unmasked" Laird's 22 February "allegations" that B-52 bombers are "not allowed to carry out activities over the Plain of Jars because of technical reasons." The senators' statements, says Hanoi, also give the lie to Souvanna Phouma's "allegations" that North Vietnam is escalating the war in Laos.

Other DRV comment continues to publicize U.S. expressions of concern over the situation in Laos. QUAN DOI NHAN DAN on the 28th refers to statements by Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, and Mathias criticizing intensification of the war, and a Hanoi broadcast in English that day notes Senator Symington's call for the recall of Ambassador Godley to appear before a congressional inquiry.

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MOSCOW The 28 February TASS statement is the first to deal with Laos since 10 December 1967, when U.S. "provocations" against both Laos and Cambodia were denounced. The last TASS statement devoted exclusively to Laos was issued 5 February 1965, on the subject of U.S. bombings. The current statement criticizes the "considerable escalation of the U.S. armed intervention" and cites "international commentators" for the view that the United States seeks to create "another seat of war in Southeast Asia" and to "open another front" there.

The statement notes that the NLHX Central Committee statement dated the 20th urged "peaceful peoples and governments of the world" to denounce U.S. aggression, but TASS does not acknowledge that it specifically addressed the participants of the 1961-62 Geneva conference as well. Moscow has not mentioned Souvanna Phouma's call for a reconvening of the Geneva conference; in the past Soviet media have taken note of Souvanna's letters to the Geneva cochairmen--made public on 30 June 1969, 19 March 1969, and 16 February 1968--either belatedly in routine-level propaganda or not at all.

The TASS statement supports the NLHX stand that the Laotian people must be allowed to settle their own affairs on the basis of the Geneva agreements, but in keeping with Soviet propaganda practice it omits the NLHX formulation that this settlement must also be in accord with "current realities" in Laos. TASS concludes by blaming the United States for the escalation of armed intervention in Laos which "only makes it more difficult to find ways for the solution of the problems of Indochina and leads to further heightening of tensions in Southeast Asia."

Routine Soviet propaganda continues to charge the United States with escalation and intensified bombing in Laos. Moscow is the only communist source known to have mentioned the 26-27 February meeting in Saigon of U.S. Ambassadors Godley, Unger, and Bunker with Admiral McCain and General Abrams. Brief reports assert that they discussed "widening the aggression" in Laos. On 2 and 3 March TASS cites the Washington POST report that the United States has followed a "scorched earth" policy in Laos and the POST editorial which, according to TASS, accused the Administration of "ignoring" Congress and "deceiving" the American public about U.S. intentions in Laos.

Secretary Laird's comments on U.S. policy in Laos draw Soviet censure. Bragin, in PRAVDA's International Review on 1 March, labels as a "demagogic formula" his "admission" on 26 February that B-52's bomb Laotian territory "on the pretext of 'defending American positions in Vietnam.'" A TASS commentary by Kharkhov on 27 February says Laird's statement "to the effect that the United States is using its Air Force in Laos" to defend American positions in South Vietnam is "perhaps the first high-level official recognition that American planes subject Laotian territory to massive bombings."

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Another TASS report on the 27th says that Laird the day before also "alleged that the United States was not taking part in ground operations in Laos and was not maintaining combat units there," but TASS adds that "many commentators" question such statements. A participant in the 1 March domestic service roundtable, without mentioning Laird, says "Washington affirms that there are no U.S. armed forces in Laos but that there are 12,000 U.S. advisers." The panelist later speculates that "on the pretext of evacuating Vietnam" the Americans may "transfer" part of the troops "quietly and without any fuss to Laos."

Like Hanoi and Pathet Lao media, Moscow publicizes U.S. senators' expressions of anxiety over the stepping up of the war. TASS on 3 March, for example, cites remarks by Senators Mansfield, Fulbright, and Gore following a session of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee at which CIA Director Helms testified.

PEKING Peking makes no comment of its own, limiting its treatment of the Laotian situation chiefly to accounts of official NLHX statements and battle reports attributed to Pathet Lao media. NCNA's report of the 28 February NLHX Central Committee statement notes that it took the United States and its allies to task for continuing to "play the 'peace' trick" and for having "shouted for a 'reconvening of the Geneva conference,'" but NCNA neglects to mention that it protested "slander" directed against the NLHX and the DRV.

The Soviet Union's role comes under attack from Peking through the intermediary of an Albanian newspaper. On 28 February NCNA carries an article from the Tirana BASHKIMI, praising the "patriots'" victories in Laos and decrying American bombings, which accuses the Soviets of taking "a double-faced position" in order to collude more closely with the United States: "In words they pretend to be the friend and supporter" of the Laotian struggle, while in fact they "stab the Laotian people in the back."

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MIDDLE EAST

MOSCOW BUILDS PROTEST CAMPAIGN ATTACKING ISRAEL, ZIONISM

The past week's large volume of Soviet broadcast material related to the Middle East conflict, highest since the aftermath of the June 1967 war, is highlighted by an extensive Moscow campaign of public protests against "criminal" Israeli actions, the first such campaign on the Middle East since the period immediately after that war. In that instance, the campaign peaked in its second week, 12-18 June, when protest propaganda represented over six percent of total broadcast comment, and dwindled out by late July. The current campaign, begun on 20 February, has included observance on 2 March of an international day of protest against Israeli "aggression" and of solidarity with the Arabs, proclaimed by the World Peace Council (WPC). TASS on the 2d reports the WPC as declaring in a statement that the rest of the week will be marked with protest actions, the start of "world-wide action, more vigorous and energetic," condemning the United States for its part in the escalation of Israeli "aggression," and calling for Israeli withdrawal, support of the Palestinian people, and full implementation of the November 1967 Security Council resolution.

The protest campaign is continuing as of 4 March, with TASS reporting publication in the central press of further statements and letters emanating from public meetings throughout the country, and from public organizations, groups of intelligentsia and other circles, and Soviet citizens. Along with the flood of protests, Moscow is waging a campaign denouncing Zionism both in Israel and abroad and publicizes vehement reflections by Soviet Jewish citizens of "anti-Soviet slander" by Israeli officials, heightened by a statement by prominent Soviet Jewish citizens presented at a foreign ministry press conference on 4 March.

While the current outcry continues to stress Israel's 12 February bombing of the UAR metal works at Abu Zabal, there was no immediate concerted Soviet campaign in reaction to that incident, but rather a staged response, with several days elapsing between the injection of each new element. Thus, the TASS statement pegged to Abu Zabal was not issued until the 16th; protest meetings first were reported on the 20th; and not until the 24th did the element of "Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality" enter the propaganda picture.

Total Soviet broadcast material related to the Middle East conflict rose to 15 percent last week (23 February-1 March). This is well below the 1967 postwar peak, when for two weeks in June the level was sustained at about 43 percent of total broadcast comment, and thereafter gradually diminished. Aside from the protest campaign,

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current comment continues to give attention to the Swissair crash, again underlining Palestinian denial of responsibility, accusing Israel and "imperialism" of seizing on the crash to divert attention from Israel's bombing of the UAR's civilian factory at Abu Zabal, and intimating "Zionist" connections with the air disaster.

Moscow has made no further reference to Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vinogradov's "three-day official visit" to Cairo beyond reporting his arrival on 28 February and his meeting with Nasir on the 3d. Cairo radio on the 28th reported that UAR Foreign Minister Riyad said their meeting that evening was "in the framework of political moves" on the Middle East.

PROTEST CAMPAIGN Reports on protest meetings throughout the USSR, widely broadcast in foreign languages and featured in the central press, demand punishment for Israeli "atrocities" against the Arabs, frequently citing the attack on Abu Zabal as an example of Israel's "aggressive actions," and at the same time express support for the USSR's Middle East policy and for the Arab cause. There are references to the United States as the patron and protector of Israel, and it is frequently branded as the "inspirer" of Israeli actions.

The protest statements contain scattered pledges of undefined "necessary help" to the Arabs, including calls for continued moral and material support, and approval of the "CPSU and Soviet Government" policy of "all-round assistance" to the Arab "peoples." TASS on 3 March cites letters received from Soviet citizens expressing readiness to "render any assistance" to the "victims of aggression," and points to the dispatch of medicines, food, and "other relief goods" to Cairo. Participants in a Moscow University meeting supporting Soviet assistance note the university's contribution in training Arabs. There is an isolated mention of slogans calling for "Disgrace to Tel Aviv Aggressors!" and "Hands Off the UAR!" in a TASS report of the university meeting.

EDITORIALS IN IZVESTIYA, PRAVDA A hard-hitting IZVESTIYA editorial on the 26th states that resolutions adopted at various protest meetings "justly compared" the attack on Abu Zabal with "barbaric actions of the Hitlerites and with the destruction of Coventry and Lidice," as well as with the American "crime" at Son My in South Vietnam. IZVESTIYA accuses the Israeli leaders of "fanning unbridled Zionist and chauvinistic propaganda by sowing enmity and hatred for the Arab peoples," "popularizing racist ideas," and trying to colonize the Arab population of the occupied lands. The resolutions, it says, also condemn "U.S. imperialism" for encouraging Israel to new military adventures. The editorial refers to the 1967 Security

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Council resolution as the basis for insuring a peaceful settlement of the "complicated situation," going on to declare that the Arab people are determined to resist and "to fight" to "eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression."

PRAVDA repeats the phrase on "sowing enmity and hatred" in an editorial on 3 March which, like IZVESTIYA, supports the Arabs' "justified fight" against the "invaders." PRAVDA likewise says the USSR wants to see all parties implement the November Security Council resolution, which aims at a political settlement. The editorial also notes continuing Washington consideration of the supply of further planes to Israel--a subject of continuing, low-volume attention in the propaganda--and says no U.S. talk about the balance of forces in the Middle East can disguise the fact that "these arms are being provided to continue the aggression."

SOVIET JEWS PARTICIPATE THROUGH LETTERS, PRESS CONFERENCE

The injection of the Soviet Jewish element into the protest campaign appears to have begun on 24 February with the publication of letters from "citizens of Jewish nationality" in PRAVDA, followed on the 26th by similar letters in SOVIET RUSSIA, TRUD, and presumably in IZVESTIYA's evening edition (letters appeared in the morning edition the following day). TASS on the 26th reports IZVESTIYA as "continuing" to publish such letters, but an examination of IZVESTIYA morning editions since the 20th reveals no communications from Jewish citizens until the 27th, although IZVESTIYA on the 21st did report that letters were being received in the editorial office. TRUD on the 26th carried not only letters from Jewish citizens but also a half-page selection of articles under the heading "Equals Among Equals" dealing with the position of Jews in the Soviet Union and condemning Israeli policy in the Middle East.

The papers also report prominently that a session of the Birobidzhan city soviet of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast adopted a resolution condemning the Israeli "aggression" against the Arabs and denouncing "with wrath and indignation that brazen statement" by Israel's prime minister that Israel must become the native land of all Jews. PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA on the 28th both headline on page one a resolution of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast aktiv on the Middle East which rejects "anti-Soviet slander" by Israeli officials about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. Moscow synagogue Rabbi Levin, in an interview reported by TASS on the 28th and appearing in IZVESTIYA the next day, makes no outright denial of Soviet anti-Semitism but asserts that it is "flourishing" in the United States.

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TASS indicates that the Jewish letter campaign continues unabated in the central press, reporting letters to PRAVDA on the 2d and communications appearing in PRAVDA, RED STAR, and RURAL LIFE on the 4th, denouncing the concept of Israel as the native land of all Jews (one writer concludes with the slogan "Hands Off the Soviet Citizens!"), and detailing the advantages obtaining for Jews in the USSR.

PRESS CONFERENCE
STATEMENT

Moscow gives additional prominence to the Jewish issue with a 4 March press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists, reported by TASS, at which a statement by "Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality" was read. First announcing that a press conference would be held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry that day on "questions pertaining to the Middle East situation," TASS transmitted a summary and then text of the statement, followed by a correction indicating that the conference was opened by Zamyatin, head of the foreign ministry press department--thus giving official imprimatur to the occasion. TASS subsequently reported the names of some signers of the statement, including Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Dymshits, and noted that "many" of the other public figures, statesmen, military leaders, scientists, and men of letters signing the document were present at the press conference. This item also carried replies "in part" by Dymshits, as well as by Zamyatin, to questions by correspondents.

The statement assails Israeli military "crimes reviving memories of the barbarity of the Hitlerites," and rebuts "Zionist propaganda" about the condition of Jews in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, it says, exposes the "imperialist-Zionist plot" in the Middle East, supports the Arab peoples' "just liberation struggle," and "insistently presses for a peaceful settlement" in the area. Claiming that Israel's "course of conquest," supported by "American imperialism," brings sorrow and sacrifices to the Middle East peoples, both Arabs and Jews, the statement declares that "an unbridgeable gulf" exists between the "sinister" Zionist intentions and the genuine interests of Israel's working people, for whom their leaders' "adventuristic policy" is "fraught with boundless calamities." (Other current propaganda also employs this theme, distinguishing between the Israeli leadership and the people, burdened by war and seeing their resources "senselessly wasted.")

The statement calls for fulfillment of the November 1967 Security Council resolution. Zamyatin states that the USSR's "positive appraisal" of Jarring's mission in the Middle East remains unchanged. Dymshits, in answer to a question, says the USSR "resolutely supports" the Arab peoples who are victims of aggression, and "is aiding Arab states."

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ATTACK ON ZIONISM Perhaps leading off the current intensive onslaught against Zionism, a series of commentaries broadcast in Arabic beginning on the 19th attacked Zionism in routine fashion as a "weapon of imperialism," quoting Lenin on the class nature of Zionism. Commentator Tsoppl picked up the theme in foreign-language broadcasts beginning on the 21st, arguing that Israel is controlled by world Zionism, "directed by American Zionist capitalists."

Attention to the Zionist theme was reinforced on the 26th, the day the letters by Soviet Jewish citizens spread to other central papers. A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article by Agaryshev that day, charging Israel with "using fascist methods," asserts that Israeli-U.S.-FRG cooperation is aimed against the national liberation movement and the socialist countries. Agaryshev accuses the Zionists of trying to inculcate the idea of "dual citizenship" in Jews living in different countries and using this idea to "undermine the socialist countries and their unity from within." Subsequent press material expounds in the same vein, and the 4 March press conference statement also labels Zionism as an instrument of "reactionary and aggressive quarters" used in "various ideological subversions" against socialist countries.

Along with broadcast comment in foreign languages noting Zionist influence in the United States and Britain, Moscow began publicizing a 27 February PRAVDA article by Tank Troops Lt. Gen. D. Dragunskiy entitled "Zionism's Criminal Hand."* Dragunskiy, of Jewish origin, compares the "Israeli occupiers' actions" with the "terrible times of Hitlerism," pointing out that the latter crimes did not go unpunished. He expresses the indignation of the Soviet people, "irrespective of their national allegiance," at the "unpardonable and false statements of Prime Minister Golda Meir and other Zionist bosses about the 'difficult' situation" of the Soviet Jews.

MOSCOW AFFIRMS JEWISH PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO HAVE OWN STATE

Along with assaults on Zionism and Israeli policy, Moscow at the same time reaffirms Israel's right to exist as a state, most authoritatively in Dymshits' response to a question at the 4 March press conference in which he declared that the USSR "did not come out for a liquidation of the state of Israel. All states in the Middle East area, including Israel, should live in peace and peacefully coexist."

* The Dragunskiy article has been rebroadcast 42 times, accounting for more than a third of the total broadcast propaganda relating to Zionism.

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In other current propaganda, Moscow has underlined Israel's existence as a Jewish state. Previous propaganda had not been specific on this point, which contradicts the Palestinian organizations' aim of a democratic, "nonracist" state encompassing Jews, Moslems, and Christians. The Tsoppl commentary first broadcast on the 21st in German, and later repeated in Polish, Romanian, and English to the United Kingdom, maintains that the Jewish people, like any other people, "have a right to create their own state, and for this they need territory." The Israeli nation, as in 1947, "has an unquestionable right to live on its territory, in its sovereign country," he says, but it does not have the right to disregard the independence of neighboring states. He claims that if the United States "had not imposed on Israel, by way of international Zionism, its idea of development, Israel could have been developing in accord with its Arab neighbors"; it would have become "the regained fatherland of the Jewish working masses, and would have speeded up the revolutionary processes in the Middle East."

In a NEDELYA article reported by TASS on the 27th, Vergelis, editor of the Yiddish-language literary magazine SOVIETISCHE HEIMLAND, assails Zionism as an enemy of the Jewish people, and in effect affirms the right of Israel to exist as a "national Jewish state on land that belonged to Jews in ancient times." This state has existed for a long time now, he says, and was formed "not through the activity of Zionism but as a consequence of the victory over fascism."

The propaganda also applauds "progressive circles" in Israel, a letter by Soviet scientists and cultural workers published in PRAVDA on the 3d proclaiming support for these circles' "heroic struggle" against the "insane policy" of Israel's leadership. An IZVESTIYA article on 28 February notes the existence of "salutary forces" in Israel headed by the Israeli Communist Party. PRAVDA the same day published a report by Israeli CP (Rakach) General Secretary Meir Vilner, delivered at his party's 16th congress in 1969, with the explanation that it had previously carried a "short information summary" and "certain documents" on the congress, but "at the request of many readers" was now publishing "a more detailed summary" of Vilner's report. Vilner noted that in 1948 the USSR had supported self-determination for both the Jewish and Arab people of Palestine, and that it now supports the Palestinian people's struggle and also Israel's right to exist as a state.

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SINO - U. S. RELATIONS

PRC FINDS PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT FUTILE

Peking's reaction to President Nixon's foreign policy report of 18 February adheres to the line followed in recent comment in portraying the United States as a declining power whose global ambitions exceed its strength at a time of mounting vulnerabilities. In the first, belated Chinese reaction, a lengthy NCNA commentary on 28 February derides the report as an effort to "disguise the ferocious and brutal U.S. imperialism" and as an inadequate prescription for an ailing country in "the grip of overall political, economic, and military crises." Striking a similar note, an article carried in NCNA's "Worker-Peasant-Soldier Battlefield" column on 2 March views the foreign policy report as another confession that the United States is rapidly declining and must change its tactics to conceal its "aggressive and expansionist" goals. While mockingly drawing a picture of diminishing American power as reflected in the President's acknowledgments of a changing world situation, Peking has avoided subjecting the President to vituperative personal attack.

The 28 February discussion contains Peking's most direct response in recent comment to U.S. overtures to the PRC, a subject the Chinese have studiously ignored in the stream of propaganda on the United States during the period since the Warsaw talks were resumed. NCNA dismisses the President's principle of negotiation and accuses him of talking hypocritically about his desire to improve relations with the PRC, but it mentions only his reaffirmation of the treaty commitment to the Nationalist Chinese while passing over his references to the Warsaw talks and to unilateral measures taken by the Administration to normalize relations. Peking has acknowledged the Warsaw talks this year only in its terse announcements concerning the sessions.

NCNA views the President's stand on Taiwan as exposing "the aggressive nature" of the United States in its "criminal scheme" to create two Chinas. While the commentary goes on to scorn the President's professed desire for peace as reflecting an intent to "forcibly occupy the world" and to suppress revolutionary movements, NCNA fails to develop the once-standard picture of the United States as an aggressive power menacing the Asian peoples and seeking to encircle China. The commentary devotes minimal attention to Vietnam, observing that the United States intends to intensify the war by means of the Vietnamization program.

The absence of the encirclement theme is conspicuous in NCNA's discussion of the President's remarks on Soviet-U.S. relations. While ignoring his references to the Sino-Soviet conflict, NCNA says his report indicates an intent to intensify Washington's "contention and collusion" with the

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Soviets. Unlike past Chinese comment which stressed collusive and congruent Soviet and American policies, the elements of contention are highlighted in the NCNA discussion.

A sense of pride is reflected in NCNA's observation that the President's report acknowledged China's "growing strength and her tremendous influence" in the world and that it expressed "apprehensions" over the PRC's development of nuclear weapons. In keeping with Peking's failure to report the President's 30 January announcement of a new phase of ABM construction as a defense against a Chinese nuclear capability, NCNA ignores the statements in the foreign policy report relating the ABM system to a PRC nuclear threat.

Peking's sensitivity to Japan's role in Washington's Asian strategy is evident in NCNA's charge that the United States wants to revive Japanese militarism so that it will cooperate in an alleged U.S. effort to suppress Asian revolutionary movements and carry out "counterrevolutionary criminal activities against China." Such a charge fits with other recent signs of Peking's preoccupation with Japan's potential in the Asian power arena, particularly in connection with the Taiwan issue. While the NCNA commentary on the President's report fails to mention the liberation of Taiwan, recent Chinese comment has taken particular exception to Japanese statements regarding Taiwan and has raised the question of force in charging that the Japanese threaten to use force to prevent the PRC from liberating the island.

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SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

MOSCOW PRESSES POLEMICS AS BORDER CLASH ANNIVERSARY IGNORED

Moscow and Peking remain silent on the current Sino-Soviet talks as the first anniversary of the 2 March 1969 clash on the Ussuri passed without notice by either side. Moscow has sustained its general polemical pressure on the Chinese, highlighted by press articles examining the causes and effects of the PRC's war preparations campaign. Following the recent pattern, Peking has initiated no commentary devoted to Soviet policies since the widely disseminated 21 February NCNA attack on Soviet-Czechoslovak relations which responded to Moscow's anti-Chinese polemics and rebuked Brezhnev and Kirilenko by name. In Peking's sole recent reference to the border, NCNA on 28 February quoted the pro-Peking Australian communist paper VANGUARD as charging that "the Soviet revisionist traitors continue their aggressive activities on the Chinese border."

Soviet press comment on Chinese war preparations concentrates on domestic motives, though the charge of Chinese expansionism is revived in an Andreyev article in the weekly NEW TIMES, No. 9 (26 February) which cites as evidence the "intensive construction of airfields, ammunition dumps, and main highways to China's border provinces and regions." The domestic effects of the militarization of China are examined in an article by two economists writing in LITERARY GAZETTE on 25 February and in a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article on the 28th alleging that priority allocation of funds to military needs has lowered living standards and exhausted the economy. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA observes that Peking's arms buildup, "particularly the acceleration of the nuclear missile program," is diverting the lion's share of resources from peaceful economic activities.

Moscow has used the proxy of foreign communists to criticize the Chinese in the name of the international communist movement and to express concern over the Warsaw talks. PRAVDA on 26 February cites recent comments by Gus Hall which stressed the harm being caused by "the nationalist, anti-Soviet, splitting activities of the Mao Tse-tung leadership" and viewed mutual anti-Sovietism as the basis for the Sino-U.S. talks. PRAVDA on the 25th summarizes a speech at a theoretical conference in Moscow by a French communist railing the harm inflicted "on our cause by the CCP leaders' break with Marxism-Leninism and their deviation toward positions of chauvinism and nationalism."

Soviet broadcasts to China have served as the channel for rebuttals of Peking's attacks on Soviet policies regarding Czechoslovakia, the Middle East, and Taiwan. A Radio Peace and Progress commentary in Mandarin on 27 February turned back Peking's charge of Soviet support for a two-Chinas policy by arguing that Peking's "adventurist and great-power chauvinistic"

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line is largely to blame for alienating countries from the PRC and causing increasing support for the two-Chinas position. Other Peace and Progress broadcasts to China have probed PRC leadership differences, as in a commentary on 25 February linking Red Guard activity with a "constantly" changing "balance of power" in Peking. Another commentary on the 25th observed that rises and falls in influence of various groups "reflect the ugly power struggle within the ruling clique and show that this or that leader is gaining power." The commentaries do not identify the leaders involved.

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USSR AND EAST EUROPE

REASSERTIONS OF ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE AROUSE SOVIET IRE

Renewed Soviet propaganda pressure on Romania is evident in a 28 February PRAVDA article by Gabuniya which sternly lectures "those" who give priority to national obligations at the expense of international duties and underestimate the danger of Western ideological penetration of the socialist countries. An article in Sofia's NARODNA ARMIYA on 25 February has a similar thrust, calling for further Warsaw Pact "integration" and bitterly accusing "functionaries" who advocate sole reliance on one's own forces of stabbing international socialism in the back.

Both articles seem responsive chiefly to Romanian efforts to publicly play down the "imperialist threat" and the need for strengthened pact alliances at a time when the Soviet Union is seeking to build up the alliances and to combat ideological attacks from European communist as well as noncommunist intellectuals. Soviet concern over the challenge from European intellectuals had been manifested in two lengthy articles in the CPSU theoretical journal KOMMUNIST, signed to the press 22 January, which attacked increasing "distortions" of Marxist-Leninist theory and focused on the "revisionist" views of Yugoslav theoreticians, the French CP maverick Roger Garaudy, Austrian dissident Ernst Fisher, and New Left ideologue Herbert Marcuse. KOMMUNIST warned that such "humanist" views of socialism could lead to "ideological disarmament of the socialist world" and concluded that "it would be politically shortsighted to underestimate this danger."

PRAVDA ARTICLE The Gabuniya article in PRAVDA, playing the theme of increased vigilance against "revisionism, opportunism, and nationalism," comes down hard on people--unnamed--who place national above international interests and underestimate the "imperialist" danger. Arguing that imperialism poses an increasing threat to the socialist countries, the article lectures that "it is impossible to remain outside the sphere of class struggle, to counterpose proletarian internationalism to national sovereignty, and to alienate the interests of the working class of one's own country from the international interests of all countries without breaking with Marxism-Leninism."

Gabuniya assails the "untenable" position of "those who declare that in our time, when socialism is winning an increasing number of victories, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology presents no danger to the countries which are creating a new society." In another passage which may be related to Romania's efforts to improve ties with the West, it declares that "the revisionist concept of coexistence as a policy allegedly leading to "gradual 'convergence'" of the opposing systems "has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism."

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ARTICLE IN
NARODNA ARMIYA

The 25 February article by Colonel Rachev in Sofia's NARODNA ARMIYA, the Journal of the Bulgarian Defense Ministry, charges that those who advocate the theory of "reliance only on one's own forces" are stabbing socialist internationalism in the back and dividing the forces of socialism "in the face of the united might of the imperialist states." Grave harm, the article adds, "is caused to the security of the socialist states by the surviving nationalistic trends in one country or another; and it is no secret that there are functionaries [read: Cossacks] in individual socialist countries who abandon the revolutionary class-party positions in assessing international developments and underestimate the danger of the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism."

ROMANIAN
DEFIANCE

The Soviet and Bulgarian articles appear in the wake of AGERPRES publicity for two articles in the February issue of LUPTA DE CLASA, the Romanian party's theoretical organ, and of apparent Romanian lobbying at a series of Soviet-sponsored theoretical conferences in preparation for the 22 April Lenin centennial. The first article in LUPTA DE CLASA transparently rejects the Soviet stand on the danger of nationalism and Western bridgebuilding and vigorously defends Romania's right to economic and political autonomy, particularly its developing relations with the West. The second one reflects Bucharest's efforts to use the Lenin centenary for its own propaganda purposes by advancing a flexible Romanian view of the future of Marxism-Leninism and serving notice that Romania will fight its own ideological battles.

According to the AGERPRES account, the second article is based on a speech made by Stefan Voicu, the journal's chief editor, at a 19-23 January meeting in Moscow devoted to "The Increased Role of Leninism in the Contemporary Epoch and Criticism of Anticommunism." The meeting was one of a series in preparation for the Lenin celebration--the latest was held 24-25 February--which Moscow has been using as forums to muster orthodox opposition to the ideological challenge from European intellectuals in the aftermath of the Czechoslovak events.

The article based on the speech underlines the notion that Marx and Lenin "did not and could not give any answer to all the problems posed by the subsequent social evolution and did not leave ready-made solutions to their successors in the field of social practice and thinking, because they lived in another epoch." In the "wide confrontation of ideas that is now taking place internationally," the Romanian journal argues, communist countries should not discredit their case by resorting to "invective" against their opponents. It is also a mistake, the article adds, to label other socialist countries "adversaries" because they hold different views. "Nobody," LUPTA DE CLASA declares, "can claim to have said the last word on one problem or another," and no one can declare another's views to be "non-Marxist or even anticommunist."

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The use of invective rather than reasoning in ideological combat with "non-Marxist progressive ideologists," the Journal further contends, is counterproductive and can only be interpreted "as an expression of weakness, of mistrust in the force of our ideals, thus weakening their power to influence the masses." The article underscores the idea that each party "establishes independently its forms and methods of activity, of combating bourgeois ideology, and of propagating Marxist-Leninist ideas." Thus it notes that the Romanian party has decided to set up the Academy of Social and Political Sciences to coordinate ideological activity and has paid particular attention to "enhancing the leading role of the party"--a cherished communist principle that Bucharest still considers an essential Leninist legacy.

CONCERN OVER ALIENATION EVINced IN COMMENT ON POLISH TRIAL

Concern over the impact of the Czechoslovak events on youth and intellectuals in the socialist countries is conveyed in comment from Moscow and Prague as well as from Warsaw on the 9-24 February trial of five young "diversionists" in the Polish capital. Their offenses involved activity "harmful to the basic interests" of Poland and socialist construction, consisting of circulation at home and abroad of "anti-Polish publications" put out by the "hostile" emigre KULTURA Literary Institute in Paris.

Soviet and East European media normally confine their coverage of trials in other bloc countries to news reports on their conclusion. The GDR followed the normal practice this time. But Moscow's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the 22d, two days before the trial ended, carried a comment attributed to a Polish professor of jurisprudence which highlighted the charge that the accused had smuggled provocative materials into both Poland and Czechoslovakia and praised the Warsaw court's indictment of them. The Soviet youth paper denounced efforts by "imperialist propaganda radio centers" to portray the accused as "simply 'intellectuals' whose only crime is that they dared to take independent views." It remarked that the defendants had chosen the road of "treachery and treason" despite the fact that they had "taken full advantage of the opportunities offered the young generation by the socialist system."

Two days after the trial ended, Prague's now hardline RUDE PRAVO seized on a statement by the alleged leader of the subversive group, Kozlowski, that "Alexander Dubcek had always been his idol as regards the realization of a policy of 'democratic socialism,' of 'socialism with a human face.'" In this connection RUDE PRAVO recalled Kozlowski's arrest "in Czechoslovakia" in May 1969--shortly after Dubcek's replacement by Husak as party First Secretary. The paper expressed regret that "some" of the defense attorneys had failed to mention "to what bitter ends Dubcek's policy had led Czechoslovakia and what damage it caused to the entire international communist movement." It generalized that the

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Warsaw trial "again confirmed that Poland, just like Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, is an object of consistent ideological diversion on the part of various capitalist centers" aimed at "changing political conditions in our countries."

The running account of the proceedings carried by the Warsaw PAP on 19 February cited evidence that hostile publications had been smuggled into Paris "mainly through Czechoslovakia and the Tatra Mountains." It also noted that the group planned to publish "an anti-Soviet periodical to be distributed among Soviet detachments stationed in Czechoslovakia" and to "organize an anti-Polish broadcasting station (possibly in Yugoslavia)." KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's 22 February commentary had referred, less pointedly, to the group's alleged instructions "to study the possibility of creating a radio station with diversionary functions in one of the socialist countries."

Warsaw's treatment of the trial departs from post-Stalin practice in beating the propaganda drums at its conclusion, rather than carrying only a running account of the proceedings. Thus TRYBUNA LUDU on the 25th declared that the defendants "were administered a just punishment" and stressed "the magnanimity of the people's state." Evidently anxious to head off any new eruption of street demonstrations, the Warsaw court had reduced even further the already mild sentences, ranging from 3 to 4-and-a-half years, pointing to the applicability of the 21 July 1969 amnesty and "taking into consideration the penitence of some of the accused." TRYBUNA LUDU warned "enemies" of the state that they cannot count on leniency in the future.

A PAP commentary on 1 March identified as one aim of the Paris-based plot an "investigation of the atmosphere in the army, including the Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia," and stressed the importance, "not only in connection with this trial," of "the milieu from which the accused come." It said the subversive group "attracted young people who had acquired university degrees in Poland and either emigrated to Israel or refused to return home." PAP viewed the trial as a "warning for all people who enter the slippery road of harming our country and the achievements of socialism."

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POMPIDOU VISIT

MOSCOW SEES NO FRENCH POLICY CHANGE DESPITE U.S. "INSULTS"

A 3 March TASS report on French President Pompidou's visit to the United States concludes that both countries retained their positions "on all the international issues" and that disagreements remain on the key issues of Vietnam and the Middle East. A Moscow foreign-language commentary on the 3d concludes that the "violent anti-French campaign" by "influential Zionist organizations and many U.S. politicians" was an unsuccessful attempt "to show the whole world how impossible it is for a Western state to pursue a policy independent of U.S. aims."

TASS promptly reported on 2 March that President Nixon apologized to Pompidou and made an "emergency trip" for an "unscheduled meeting" in New York with the French president and for the dinner in honor of Pompidou which Vice President Agnew was to have attended originally.

Commentator Viktor Levin on 26 February described for Soviet domestic listeners the "unscrupulous" attitude of the American press, which he said had waged an openly anti-French campaign, and the "vociferous demonstrations" by "hooligan thugs" and "political gangsters" who greeted Pompidou with "unrepeatable" epithets. While granting that "it goes without saying that the U.S. authorities hastened to dissociate themselves" from these demonstrations, Levin added: "The impression is created that, judging by everything, this has been done far from sincerely." As evidence he mentioned the refusal of city mayors to meet Pompidou and the "demonstrative exit" by "many members" of Congress during Pompidou's address. Levin concluded that Washington POST observer Chalmers Roberts was correct in his assessment that the Pompidou-Nixon meetings had no impact on the considerable differences between Washington and Paris, and that France remains "fully determined to proceed along her own way, without being led by Washington."

TASS reports of 25 and 26 February on the conclusion of the Nixon-Pompidou talks stressed that because no official communique was issued, "it is believed this indicates that the heads of the two states have failed" to attain closer agreement on important foreign policy matters.

TASS reportage of the Chicago portion of Pompidou's trip said that the "rabid anti-French campaign" was engineered by "Zionist and pro-Israeli circles" and that even many American newsmen had noted that police treated demonstrators "extremely liberally." TASS also pointed out that after his Chicago visit Pompidou considered breaking off his trip and returning to Paris and that he called the "carefully organized" demonstrations against him "a stain on the reputation of the United States."

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WEST GERMANY

GROMYKO VISIT FAILS TO SOFTEN GDR HARD LINE ON WEST GERMANY

Continuing hardline statements by GDR leaders and in East German newspaper editorials in the wake of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's 24-27 February visit to the GDR indicate that the visit had little effect on the GDR's public posture. The communique on Gromyko's visit showed some signs of Soviet-inspired moderation, not sustained in East German comment, and slight variations between the Soviet and East German versions of the communique could be read as suggestive of differences between the two sides. GDR media have carried only brief reports on the first two days of "technical and protocol talks" in East Berlin to prepare for a proposed meeting between GDR Premier Stoph and Chancellor Brandt.

COMMUNIQUE ON GROMYKO VISIT The communique on Gromyko's GDR visit, issued in somewhat variant texts by GDR and Soviet media on 27 February, employs standard terminology in reaffirming "complete identity of views" on the international situation, the development of GDR-USSR relations, the need for recognition of the postwar territorial status quo and of GDR and Polish borders, and the importance of a European security conference.

A direct acknowledgment that West Germany's new "Ostpolitik" was discussed appears far down in the communique, as one of the final items. Noting that the GDR and USSR foreign ministers "exchanged information and views concerning the contacts maintained with the FRG Government," the communique declares that there was "complete identity of views regarding the issues raised in these contacts and the relevant steps taken." It adds the stock argument in favor of the GDR-proposed draft treaty with the FRG and concludes with a mild call for the FRG Government to show "responsibility and realism in its policy."

The East German version of the document highlights first Gromyko's visit with Ulbricht, Stoph, and other top leaders and says they had "an extensive talk," where the Moscow version--in the domestic service and the press--gives pride of place to a statement that GDR Foreign Minister Winzer and Gromyko held talks, then adds that Gromyko was received for "a talk" by Ulbricht and others. In another variation, in a passage on the need for European countries to consolidate relations and safeguard peace by "recognizing the territorial status quo" in Europe, the GDR version cites "especially" the need to recognize the GDR-FRG borders and the Oder-Neisse border. The Moscow version omits "especially."

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Moscow's version of the communique includes a passage on the Middle East which the GDR version leaves out entirely. It says: "Concern was expressed over the dangerous aggravation of the situation in the Middle East due to the aggressive and piratical policy of Israel and its foreign backers."

Missing from the communique is any explicit reference to "the basis of international law" in regard to FRG-GDR relations--a stipulation which had been spelled out in the 4 December 1969 Moscow communique on the first summit meeting held by Soviet and East European leaders after the Brandt regime took office. But the stipulation is retained by implication in the current communique's reference to the GDR's draft of an East-West German treaty, which incorporates the phrase on international law.

Although Gromyko referred several times in East Berlin to recognition of East-West German and Polish borders and of the "realities" of postwar Europe, he scrupulously avoided even mentioning the GDR draft treaty and made no specific references to "international law" as a basis for GDR-FRG relations. His GDR hosts, on the other hand, constantly mentioned the draft treaty and international law as a basis for inter-German relations.

Although Gromyko thus failed to give his authoritative endorsement to the GDR's requirement for recognition, Moscow radio commentators continue to argue for it. For example, for the first time since Brandt took office, a Moscow commentary--by Andreyev for German listeners on 3 March--attempts a detailed refutation of Brandt's formulation that the two parts of Germany "allegedly are not foreign countries to each other" and that their relations therefore must be of a special nature. Andreyev calls this Brandt-Scheel view "not only unduly complicated but also illogical" and "counter to international law." He argues that it constitutes an FRG attempt "to impose a lack of equality on the GDR" and achieve a "higher status" for the FRG. He refers repeatedly to international law as the basis for FRG-GDR relations, arguing that "viewed from the premise of international law, no special relations are possible between the GDR and the FRG since they involve relations between sovereign states." Andreyev concludes that the Brandt-Scheel viewpoint on GDR relations "is too ridiculous to evoke criticism." Such arguments by Bonn, he adds, are an attempt "to dodge recognition of the obvious fact that two sovereign and independent states exist on the territory of the late German Reich and that the relations between them can be established only and exclusively on the basis of international law."

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GDR CENSURE OF BRANDT Remarks by GDR Defense Minister Hoffmann on the day Gromyko departed sustained the hard East German line on the Brandt regime, in contrast to the more moderate tenor of Soviet and some other East European comment. Addressing a Berlin meeting on the 14th anniversary of the National People's Army, Hoffmann charged that although the Brandt-Scheel government "spares no pious rhetoric or accommodating gestures" and "talks a great deal about renunciation of force and uses other demagogic moves," it "has not budged one inch" from the "revanchist aims of West German monopoly capitalism and its expansionist plans." Hoffmann denounced the "glittering front of the demagogy of detente and the national claptrap" and declared that unless the Brandt government accedes to the GDR's traditional demands for recognition and normal relations, "there can be no talk of any Federal Government having abandoned the expansionist course hitherto pursued."

A NEUES DEUTSCHLAND editorial on 1 March reiterates demands for FRG recognition of the GDR and scoffs at any agreement on renunciation of force if such recognition is not forthcoming. The paper says such an agreement "is not worth the paper it is written on" if one side still seeks to revise frontiers. Such agreements can be "valid under international law" only between states recognizing each other under that law, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND contends.

EUROPEAN SECURITY During the course of his visit Gromyko reaffirmed Moscow's continuing concern about the broad problem of European security, noting in his toast at a 25 February reception that the "main attention" in his talks with the GDR leaders was devoted to this question. In a speech in Berlin on the 26th he recalled the Warsaw Pact initiative in calling for an all-European conference on European security and said the proposal had found a "wide response." He expressed hope that a conference will take place "in the near future" despite "the resistance of certain forces." The communique on the visit pledges that the GDR and the USSR, "together with their socialist allies and many other countries which advocate the strengthening of security in Europe," will continue to prepare for a conference and to do everything to guarantee its success.

Neither the reported remarks by Gromyko nor Moscow media's commentaries on the visit mention U.S. attendance at such a conference, a question virtually ignored in the USSR's propaganda since Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Zamyatin, at a 13 January press conference, reported that the USSR had informed Washington "of its favorable attitude" toward U.S. participation. Atypically, a 21 February radio commentary for North American listeners on President Nixon's 18 February foreign policy report did observe that the United States could attend a European security conference. And an article by Zavyalov in NEW TIMES, No. 7 (17 February) broached the question in passing in the observation that

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"recent articles in the press of the United States--a country claiming representation at the all-European conference (to which no one objects)--insist that one of the main topics there must be the 'so-called balanced armaments reduction.'"

GROMYKO Polish media report that during a brief stopover in
IN POLAND Warsaw en route home from Berlin Gromyko held talks
 with Polish leaders on "current problems of the
international situation and the strengthening of European security
in particular." Lack of serious problems between the Poles and the
Soviets on the matter of current dealings with West Germany seems implied
in the fact that Gromyko stayed only several hours in Warsaw, compared
with four full days in the GDR.

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